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FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

ellowship

A. J. Muste

THEIR CHURCH AND OURS

Nels F. S. Ferré — PACIFISM AND THE CASTLE OF FAITH

m Robert Miller — THE LESSER EVIL AND THE LEAST

iam H. Marwick — ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT

Fellowship

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COVER PHOTO: St. Basil's Cathedral in Red Square, Moscow. Credit: Sovfoto.

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

ITEGRATION

The legal sparring goes on in the South, th the violence largely confined—except the activities of a few nocturnal dyna- ters—to the arguments of the lawyers. nile it goes on, several thousand children Virginia and Arkansas are going with- t formal education, though who is to that they are not being educated in re important matters even than biology d English literature and languages?

The legal sparring must go on to a ish, but the finish appears to be close. ne Supreme Court has demonstrated that will tolerate neither the evasive stra- gems of Southern legislatures nor in- finite delay. Governor Faubus talks ively of raising private funds for nuinely private segregated schools, but talks into the wind and he knows it. rt of the South can barely support an equate school system even with all tax ; it is doubtful if even the wealthiest communities, North or South, could pport its schools through voluntary sub- iption.

Soon the schools will begin to open in, and the test will be put once more the courage of the Negro children, the npassion of the whites. If it were left the children, there would be far less uble. The strength of prejudice is in the , not the young. It is an ironic thing t the country should have to look for salvation of its honor to some teenage ngsters, but that may well be the case. ne behavior of Angie Evans, of Van ren, Arkansas, suggests that it may be safe hands.

Angie is a 15-year old white girl, a stu- nt in the high school from which whites ocked the entrance of Negro students. nen, under pressure from segregationists, school board held a public meeting on egration, Angie showed up with the re- ts of a poll she and some friends had en of 160 students.

The majority of them, reported Angie to the open-mouthed board and the listening adults, favored integration. Then she added —this child among the elders—"Have you thought what you make these Negro children feel like, running them out of school? I just don't think segregation is a Christian thing!"

GOLDEN LAUGHTER

Every once in a while someone reminds us that there is not enough humor brought to bear on our current crises. Laughter can be a potent weapon in the struggle against prejudice and greed, but contemporary satirists are few and far between. One of the more effective ones in the integration struggle is Harry Golden, editor of *The Carolina Israelite* and author of the best-selling book, *Only in America.*

Golden keeps coming up with his tongue-in-cheek "plans" to achieve integration while keeping the white folks happy. Nobody objects to vertical integration, he observed, and suggested that the seats be taken out of the school rooms. An experiment with a drinking fountain in a Charlotte (N. C.) department store demonstrated that whites will use "colored" facilities when theirs are out of order, so why not hang "Out-of-order" signs gradually on all the "white" drinking fountains, restrooms, etc.?

What makes this kind of humor so effective is that its targets are rarely smart enough not to reply, and their replies invariably make the whole thing even funnier. So the Jackson (Miss.) White Citizens' Council published a big story about the Golden Plan, mobilizing its cohorts to check all white facilities having an "out-of-order" sign, with a protest to the management if they are really in working condition. This, "if unsuccessful, should be followed by a campaign to spread the true facts concerning the duplicity of the scheme."

"Why is it," asks Golden, "that not a

single one of these fellows has a sense of humor?"

And P. D. East, commenting in his *Petal* (Miss.) *Paper* on the same matter, observed solemnly: "It's a fact that here in Mississippi over eighty percent of the Negroes have white blood in them, and I feel reasonably sure it was all caused by some of our ancestors drinking from the same fountains with Negroes."

DRILL

Another likely area for the satirist is the recurring solemn nonsense that constitutes the ritual of the Civil Defense organization. One of these was the drill held in New York City September 25.

In this one a "simulated intercontinental ballistic missile" equivalent to a million tons of TNT (twenty times the Hiroshima A-bomb) exploded at 8:02 P.M. at La-Guardia Airport in Queens, and another one-fifth as large in Brooklyn. Civil Defense, fire, police and medical personnel set up emergency communications at a point in Manhattan about five miles from where the million-ton bomb had exploded. Let the straight-faced *New York Times* continue the story:

"They then proceeded with the work of extinguishing simulated fires and evacuating the wounded. The exercise ended at 10 P.M."

The trouble is, what can the satirist say that would be any funnier?

QUEMOY

Unless something unexpected intervenes, it has become fairly clear that, as FELLOWSHIP observed September 15, there will be no war over the Chinese offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu—not this time. What is really at stake there, the longed-for reconquest of the mainland on behalf of the ousted Chiang Kai-shek, was confirmed in a remarkably candid statement by Chiang a few weeks ago. After asserting that what had happened had been a victory for the Nationalists, he added:

"In the present situation, however, what really worries us is not that [The Communists] may attack but that they may not dare attack again. If they should really enlarge the scope of hostilities they would invite common action by the free world's anti-aggression force and this concerted tack would hasten the end of the Chi Communists."

Translated, this means, of course, if the Chinese Communists will only such action as will involve them in with the United States and its allies, end of the resulting war may be the feat of Mao Tse-tung's government and reestablishment of Chiang's. That it wo also mean World War III, the death hundreds of millions of people, and possible destruction of civilization, app to be a minor consideration.

MAIN EMPHASIS

Elsewhere in this issue theologian Ferré observes that "the main emphasis all of us [pacifists] should be on the m ing of peace, not on our own perso morals or on personal purity." It is an portant reminder.

Not that the making of peace invo a compromise of personal morals or pu as most of our fellow citizens believe, that the *emphasis* is on the job of mak peace rather than on efforts to demonst the uncompromising nature of our perso convictions. "The very nature of the C tian faith is to *make* peace," Prof. F continues, "to be within the fellowship reconciliation."

If this is the case, then it is self-evid that peacemakers must themselves try understand the nature of the obstacles peace, and to communicate that un standing to neighbors and friends. Thi part of the process of peace education. a part that is undramatic but diffic tedious but requiring dedication, rou but needing imaginative approaches. cause it is undramatic it is sometimes m mized by the more impatient of us, but minimize it at our peril.

Our non-pacifist neighbor's stake in pe is no less than our own, and it may be that his concern is at least as grea ours—psychologists tell us that apathy escape frequently signal distress so g that the mind cannot cope with it.

It is a temptation for pacifists, as the Pentagon, to fight the last war inst of the next. We have a great need new evaluations of our world proble and for creative new ideas for dealing

n in cooperation with our neighbors. Ve hope to discuss some of these issues coming editorials. They will be ham- ed by the two-month intervals between n; on the other hand, perhaps it will us all good to recall that the basic es are tenacious and persistent, not ly to be solved or disappear before the t deadline. Until the next, we recom- nd to our readers that they be sure to d Aldous Huxley's "Tyranny Over the nd" published by *Newsday* and available n FELLOWSHIP for only a dime.

JOTE

rom a dramatic two-part report on a t to the South, in *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, t. 22 and 29:

These off-beat members of old families e "tortured Southern liberals"] know ir own political impotence and feel like ns despite their family trees. Their -deprecatory jokes are bitter; their talk en builds up to a kind of anguish. . . . ny of the women at least take their ristianity with deep seriousness and are n by guilt. They are appalled by the e hatred which spills over from ap- ently civilized people they have known their lives. . . . Yet as the bourbon s more freely their whole environment ws them into compulsive imitation; they in to say 'niggers' and 'coons' with the cene pleasure of an adolescent using y words. One goes to bed afterwards feeling that the Negro doesn't just live he South, he haunts it."

EEDOM OF THE PRESS

ometimes even the most determined of defenders of the freedom of the press overwhelmed with sudden qualms. ie sections of the press can demonstrate ittle sense!

Two current examples come to mind as resenting at the least unpeaceable, not ay downright warlike, gestures toward Soviet Union. One was the Columbia adcasting System's television drama of ie Plot to Kill Stalin"; the other the fully diagrammed explanation in *U. S. s and World Report* (August 22, 1958) ow American nuclear submarines, hid- under the polar ice cap, could destroy Soviet Union in a "retaliatory" blow.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

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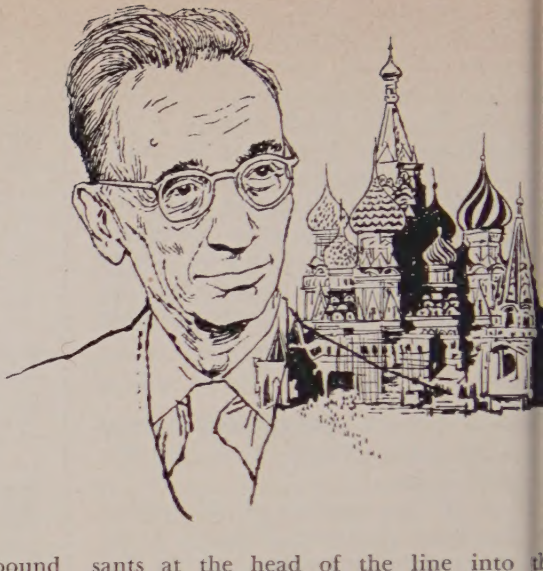
The effect of the CBS show on good relations between the nations is demonstrated by the Soviet protest to our State Department and their expulsion of the CBS representative from the Soviet Union. The dramatization used the real names of real leaders in the USSR, and made it pretty clear that the present premier was the guilty party in Stalin's death. Soviet indignation *might* be attributed to Russian hypersensitivity; on the other hand, it is interesting to speculate on what American press reaction would be to a Soviet broadcast accusing, say, Harry Truman of having conspired to force the late James Forrestal to commit suicide.

The same turnabout experiment might yield thought-provoking reactions in the *U. S. News* matter. Suppose the story and maps had been in a Russian periodical of large circulation. Suppose the diagrams had shown just how Soviet missiles with hydrogen warheads could be poured in on American cities!

THEIR church AND OURS

BY A. J. MUSTE



A VISIT TO THE Soviet Union was bound to have a powerful emotional impact on me. I have followed Communist philosophy and Soviet developments for more than four decades. Sometimes I have been elated as by some of the events of the Revolutionary period or the revolts in the Communist world which followed the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. Many times I have been involved in controversy as both an anti-Stalinist and an opponent of war against the Soviet Union. I have defended the civil liberties of Communists and argued that, especially in the present era of ferment, politically concerned people ought to seek to include Communists in an effort to communicate and argue in disregard of traditional sectarian walls. But the visit I made in July was my first actual glimpse of the USSR.

Moscow was a much more Western city than I had anticipated—clean, with heavy automobile traffic efficiently and smoothly directed, the crowds fairly well dressed, obviously adequately fed, giving one an impression of great vitality, though not exuberance. Several hours were spent inside the walls of the Kremlin itself, whose buildings include no less than four cathedrals along with the huge building in which Stalin had lived. At about noon we were escorted to near the head of the long line of people waiting to enter the Lenin-Stalin mausoleum. We followed the peasants at the head of the line into t tomb, past the embalmed corpses and o into the sun-drenched street again. proved a sightseeing experience and no ing more.

At sunset in Red Square, strolling t wards the artistic miracle of St. Basi cathedral, it suddenly occurred to me th all through that eventful day I had nev once really thought about the Soviet pa —the suffering and terror of the ea Revolutionary days, the labor camps, t frequent and wholesale purges, the pl tings that had taken place, and might ev now be taking place, within the Krem walls. All day long I had been absorbi impressions of the present, of Moscow July 1958, impressions of a "going co cern"—immense and apparently well-orga ized activity, a relatively prosperous pe ple, a terrifically dynamic society. And t effort to make the past to which I ha just referred seem real—all that I had re in the books, heard from eyewitness pondered and agonized over—was simp too much for me. The surrounding prese was too real, too different.

It was clear to me—and it is somethi all of us should try to understand—th for the present generation of Russians, t the pre-World War II past does not ex any more, say, than the Great Depressi is a vital reality for the present generati of Americans.

Wherever you go in Moscow—on t

eet, in the justly famed Metro subway, museums, parks, schools—there are ups of sightseers. One morning I saw a up of Pioneers, children of about eight ten years of age, being escorted on a ır by their counselors. The children ked and acted very much as any group American children on a happy holiday ght look and act. They were well-dressed, tlessly clean, beautiful, vivacious. Their es bore the stamp of frankness, inner urance, loveliness of character. If they re regimented, subdued to conformity d fear, spies on their parents, or any- ng of that sort, they were the most gnificent troop of child actors that ever peared on this planet. A society, an edu- ional system, which can produce chil- en like these must have aspects and pos- ilities other than those we have tended ascribe to a totalitarian Communist so- ty. All through that day I felt a deep ppiness because of having seen those ildren. I can them now and be thankful d say a prayer for them.

We Must Take a Fresh Look

We must indeed be realistic in our ap- aisal of contemporary Soviet society. hile this involves not forgetting the past being duped by superficial elements, it eans also avoiding attachment to stereo- pes of the past. There is a new genera- n in the Soviet Union and we must take fresh look at the society in which they e.

Two experiences aroused emotions of a ry different kind. Our group had a long nference with ten officials of the All- viet Peace Committee. The vice-chair- an of that Committee was our host and esided. He began by saying that we ust have a very frank talk about any sub- ct that interested us. The talk came und presently to pacifism and conscien- us objection to war. Were there paci- ts in the Soviet Union? Was not refusal engage in nuclear war part of a peace ogram?

The chairman called on Pastor Zhidkov, airman of the All-Soviet Union of Bap- ts and a member of the All-Soviet Peace mmittee, to speak to this question. (The Russian Baptists were mostly pacifists or near-parifists before World War II.) Pastor Zhidkov harked back to the Mennonites who had lived for two centuries or so in Russia and adhered to their traditional attitude of nonresistance. He recalled that after World War I one of the gangster anti-revolutionary generals that infested Russia in those days attacked the Mennonite area, pillaging and raping. The Mennonites then abandoned their pacifism and took up arms against the marauders. This is, I think, substantially correct. Zhidkov drew the inference from this episode that when you are attacked by wild beasts in human form, as it were, pacifism becomes irrelevant and striking back occurs as an automatic reflex.

Pastor Zhidkov went on to say that the Soviet people were now confronted by the same situation. The policy of their government was one of peace. It had been that, certainly since the end of World War II; it was inconceivable that it should ever be anything else. If, therefore, war should come, it would be forced on the Soviet government and people by "wild beasts." Resistance by any available means would be automatic, and so would not really pose an ethical problem. Hence, he concluded, pacifism and conscientious objection no longer seem relevant to the Russian people. The one effective way to promote peace, he said, is to back the peace policy of the government and the peace program of the World Peace Council movement.

Pacifism and the "Fight for Peace"

Perhaps Pastor Zhidkov said these things because it was expected of him. The loyalty of Baptists might be suspected if he failed to perform as expected. But what shocked me was that I was convinced that he believed what he was saying. In expressing the conviction that in spite of Russia's H-bombs and all the rest, the Kremlin was pursuing a policy of peace and could not conceivably pursue any other, he was uttering a sentiment which, so far as we could discover, is universally held. If Russia should become involved in war, I think the overwhelming majority of its citizens would be convinced that this was a continuation of the "fight for peace" waged by

the government and the Peace Councils. It may be noted that, at the Stockholm Peace Assembly last July, the Chinese Communist delegates openly and vigorously denounced pacifism as a betrayal of dependent people who ought to fight for their liberation. They did not know about, or ignored, Gandhi's nonviolent struggle for Indian independence.

Commenting upon Pastor Zhidkov's remarks, I pointed out that there were over 125,000 Mennonites in the United States and I was sure not one of them would take up arms in a war against Russia. Did this have no bearing upon the effort to obtain international understanding and peace? From where I sat. I could not see what Zhidkov's reaction was, but it was clear that the Soviet political people realized that they had pulled a "boner" in calling on the Baptist leader.

Barriers to Communication

Later in this conference with the All-Soviet Peace Committee the Russians talked "frankly" about the American troops which that very week had landed in Lebanon. We agreed with them that it was a reprehensible move and the troops ought to be withdrawn. That afternoon I had given an interview to a *Pravda* reporter as our group stood outside the United States Embassy surrounded by a crowd of demonstrators against the U. S action in the Middle East. I had said that I believed U. S. troops should be withdrawn and added that people like myself in the United States believed that *all* big powers should withdraw their troops from other countries. Two days later *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the organ of the Young Communist League, told about a group of American peace workers being caught at the gates of the Embassy and "an old man with white hair" giving an interview, but there was no reference to the sentence about *all* powers calling their troops home.

In the Peace Committee conference, after Lebanon had been quite fully discussed, we said that we would like to hear our Russian friends talk "frankly" about Soviet troops in Hungary. But it was futile to try to get them to admit that there was anything reprehensible or even dubious about the Russian action in Hungary. One feels so ready and deep a rapport with these people on a human, emotional level, but it seems completely impossible to carry on a serious intellectual discussion with them on any important and possibly controversial political subject. There is no communication; the ideas expressed do not meet and grapple with each other; they glance off each other, so to speak. This seems to me a tremendous obstacle to peace.

Aside from Christian grounds for rejecting nuclear war, there is no other basis, either, for justifying war as the answer to the East-West problem. Total war can have only one of two results. The more likely possibility is mutual extinction, *i.e.*, suicide. If there should be someone who could be called victor in such a war, I am now convinced that it is much more likely to be the Communist bloc than the Western. Our hope so far as people in the Communist orbit are concerned—certainly Russia and China—lies in liberalizing and democratizing tendencies within these nations, in whatever changes people in these lands bring about from within, not those induced by violence or threat of violence from without.

If such changes are to come and war is to be avoided, then it is imperative that people should keep on talking, should communicate. From this standpoint even the exchanges that go on between governments either directly or in the UN have some value, though these seldom represent a real attempt to understand each other. They are propaganda moves. The "peace" pronouncements of respective governments are primarily aspects of the cold war. One may believe what both the Soviet government and the U. S. government say or believe neither; it will get us nowhere to believe one *against* the other.

The so-called cultural exchanges involving farmers, business people, students, tuorists, are somewhat more useful. It

the good that such exchanges are in-
easing. Every effort to open up travel in
countries should be made. But I have
en no evidence that they overcome these
rriers to serious communication on poli-
al issues. And, of course, modern wars
ve for the most part been waged between
hristian" nations among whom there had
en plenty of "cultural exchange."

The rather remarkable amount of co-
eration that is going on at present among
physical scientists may yet prove of
ore fundamental worth, though there are
yet no clear signs of top scientists on
her side balking at engaging in weapons
velopment. They still go on feverishly
ilding what General Omar Bradley call-
their "electronic house of cards."

The Church and the Nations

Might not churchmen of East and West,
rting from common assumptions given
them by God revealed in Christ, dig
derneath the evasions that characterize
st-West political discussions? This ques-
on weighed heavily on my mind during
d after my visit to the USSR. Getting
nuine communication among Christian
inkers, based on objective evaluation of
e conduct of nations and leading to im-
rtial prophetic judgment on nations, will
t be easy. Churches and churchmen have
the main been identified with their re-
ective nation-states and secular cultures,
d have often in great measure served
tional war purposes. Christianity in the
viet Union, in its apparently uncritical
lief in the peaceful character of the
viet nuclear arsenal, seems to us a *Rus-
n*, or alien, Christianity. Christianity in
nerica is, perhaps more subtly, *American*
ristianity, and it is clearly regarded as
"enemy" phenomenon by many Soviet
aders and citizens, and even more so by
inese.

In Czechoslovakia, Prof. Joseph L.
romadka of the Comenius Theological
culty of Charles University in Prague,
no is also a member of the Central Com-
ittee of the World Council of Churches,
s been making this point with regard to
nerican and Western Christianity gener-
y in repeated pronouncements. To cite
ly one, in an article appearing in a theological quarterly, *Communio Viatorum* (Fellowship of Wayfarers) published last spring in Prague, he declares: "The so-called Christian nations in Europe and America have lost, spiritually speaking, the right of the firstborn among the nations and have, politically speaking, forfeited the leadership in international affairs. The era of the prevalence of Christian civilization has gone. A philosophy of history based on the tenets of Christian supremacy must be given up and we have to begin again on the ruins without any self-righteousness, without any claim to be arbiters in moral or cultural, social and international life." He points out that this does not mean that the Christian revelation and heritage have lost their value but that "this heritage has got to be liberated from the shackles of self-righteous superiority, from sterility."

I think Hromadka's strictures ought to be accepted by churchmen of the West. I cannot be altogether confident that he holds and consistently advocates the same objective and deeply spiritual standpoint with respect to the Communist nation and society in which he lives. But I think he strives to do so and certainly we can only welcome enthusiastically his statement: "We take, in repentance, the present situation seriously in order to be liberated from its shackles and to offer to our fellowmen in love what we have received free of charge. We have one desire: to meet our brethren in the company of sinners and not in an attitude of self-righteousness and self-satisfaction."

Approaches to Communication

That there are possibilities of Christians of East and West meeting to discuss world peace in an attitude of repentance and with hearts and minds alert to what the Spirit says to the churches, rather than to either Communist or anti-Communist governments, was illustrated at a five-day conference held in August at Freundschaftsheim, our FOR center in Germany. The official invitations to this conference had been sent by Präses (Bishop) Wiln of the Evangelical Church in Germany, a member of the German FOR.

Until nearly the last day there was some

question as to whether delegates from Communist countries would come at all. Four did come and they were very important and influential figures. One was the Probst (Dean) of Moscow, Andrei, sent as official representative of the Holy Synod and of the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. There were two other Soviet churchmen, Lutheran Archbishop Turs of Riga and Lutheran Archbishop Kiivit of Tallin, Estonia. The fourth was Professor Z. Varga of the Seminary of the Reformed Church at Debrecen, Hungary. Among the Westerners were Martin Niemöller, Bishop Wiln, Prof. Hans Iwand of Bonn; Prof. Hannes de Graaf of the University of Utrecht; Henry J. Cadbury; and Heinz Kloppenburg, editor and chairman of the German FOR, who carried the main burden of organization.

Moments of Fellowship

It is difficult to communicate the most important aspects of a fellowship of this kind. In our formal meetings there were times when persons from each country tried to interpret its political and religious situation to the others. In personal conversation, too, there were moments when inhibitions fell away and we began to discuss our respective situations straightforwardly as Christians and not as nationals of this or that country. Moreover, on several occasions the pacifist interpretation of the Gospel was presented, and so far from being dismissed as irrelevant by the Eastern churchmen, it was accepted as requiring serious consideration. Plans for further meetings of East-West churchmen are being discussed, and even a World Conference of Christians on Peace. In the meantime relations between the churches of the Soviet Union and the World Council of Churches are growing closer. Political considerations may well enter into their development also and one acquires the habit of not being lured into easy optimism. Yet I think the possibility exists that genuine "conversation" on international problems will develop among Christian leaders and the result of this may eventually be to make more honest discussion possible on the political level.

A Revolutionary Step

As Christians wrestle with the peace mission of the church, what may prove to be a revolutionary step has just been taken. A Commission on Prevention of War in the Nuclear Age, appointed several years ago by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, reported to the CC in Denmark in August. Of the fourteen distinguished theologians and scientists who composed the Commission only two, Hannes de Graaf and Douglas V. Steere, are known pacifists. Even so, it issued a statement which closed with the sentence: "The Commission is agreed that Christians should openly declare that all-out use of these [nuclear] weapons should never be restored to, [should] oppose all policies which give evidence of leading to all-out war, and urge a cease-fire if all-out war should occur, *if necessary on the enemy's terms*, and resort to nonviolent resistance." This conclusion is based not on the idea that a nation should thus avoid being visited with nuclear terror—it may not in fact escape—but recognizes that visiting nuclear destruction on another people is simply inconceivable and impermissible for those who confess as Lord one who taught them to love even their enemies and entrusted to them the ministry of reconciliation.

THE LESSER EVIL AND THE LEAST

BY WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

"WAR," SAID GENERAL William Tecumseh Sherman, "is hell." Sherman was a position to know. The people of orgia, nearly a century after the event, nember him as the man who made it

The war which occasioned the above re-rk was the result of an "irrepressible nflict" between a society based on the e exploitation of wage labor and one ed on the institution of chattel slavery hat is, in economic terms, between an nomy based on rented white men and e based on owned black men. For the ralists of that era, the lesser evil was h a positive good that it was worth ting for.

After Appomatox, it was clear enough t the Civil War had been fought to free slaves. That is what the victors said er the war was fought and the slaves re freed.

Undoubtedly there were those in the rth who, in 1861, favored the freeing the slaves. But according to Richard fstadter,* this idea formed no part of ncoln's political outlook prior to the il War, nor indeed until it became ob-us that emancipation would be of stra-ic value to the North. The war was not ght to free the slaves; rather, the slaves re freed in order to hasten victory for North. Few people notice that the ous Emancipation Proclamation decreed edom only for slaves in those areas which were in active rebellion against the Union. In the so-called border states, slavery continued until ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, eight months after the surrender of the Confederacy. On the other hand, as late as March 2, 1861, after the Southern states had already seceded from the Union, the U.S. Congress, in a joint resolution signed by President Buchanan, proposed a constitutional amendment to prohibit Congress from enacting any law interfering with slavery. Six weeks later, the Civil War had begun, yet as late as January and February 1862, this amendment was ratified by Maryland and Illinois, as it had been earlier by Ohio, and many people in the North were willing to sue for peace on terms of making slavery ineradicably permanent if that were the price of union. Union was uppermost and was to be sought at whatever price either of morality or immorality.

The Dynamism of War

The point is simply this, that the reason why wars begin is not necessarily the reason why, in the aftermath, they are deemed worth fighting. War is indeed hell, and has its own hellish dynamism. It is not possible to chart its consequences in such a way as to make it a dependable instrument of policy. Who would have guessed, on the day the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter, that in the offing were four long years of bloody warfare, to be followed by decades of Ku Klux Klan terrorism and rankling hostility between North and South? In very large

ne American Political Tradition, pp. 93-136 *sim.*

measure, the human problem of race relations remains with us today because of that war. Is it not at least plausible that peaceful and voluntary emancipation would have occurred in the Confederacy a few decades after secession, and even that a peaceful restoration of the Union might eventually have taken place? The success of William Wilberforce's earlier efforts for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, and the contemporary Tsarist decree ending serfdom in Russia might have been counted on to exert a gradual but sure moral pressure that would have been hard for the American South to resist.

It is perhaps unkind to review all the horror and suffering of a war and say that it was fought in vain. Who can say to a Gold Star Mother that her son's death was wasted? Who can tell a crippled veteran that his suffering was pointless? Yet it is true. War is hell, which is to say that it is evil. Even if it seems a lesser evil, that does not make it good. This is not a matter of Sunday platitudes but of cause and effect. If you answer evil with evil, the result is two evils, each feeding on the other. The only way to defeat evil is to oppose it with good.

Some wars have been fought shrewdly, with a limited purpose in view. Among the best examples of the neat little war were those engineered by Bismarck in the nineteenth century. They were carried out so adroitly that they built Germany into a major power and gave her forty years of peace. But they also furnished the foundations of the martial spirit that led Germany into World War I and its consequences. Who, in 1870, or even in 1914, could have foreseen the collapse of the Empire and the rise of Hitler?

The accumulation of consequences from generation to generation inexorably led Germany up into the dizzying heights of Junker jingoism and on towards the nihilistic precipice of the Führer cult. The rise of Hitler might truly be seen as a confirmation in modern times of the prophecy, "The iniquities of the fathers shall be visited upon the children and their children's children."

Again, the assassination of the Archduke at Sarajevo carried not the faintest previ-

sion of the "war aims" that retrospecti
made the holocaust of 1914-1918 a war
make the world safe for democracy,"
later propaganda described it; and the s
sequent rise of Hitler, Mussolini and St
made the despotism of the Kaiser look
small potatoes indeed.

Hitler's brand of hell is another case
point. In 1939, Britain and France decla
war on Germany because Germany, toge
er with Russia, had invaded Poland. T
was to be a war to "halt aggression."
did not succeed in halting aggression u
most of Europe and North Africa had b
afflicted by it, and forty million people
been killed. The retrospective reasons
the war, however, were to rescue the J
from Hitler's persecution, and to instit
the Four Freedoms throughout the wo
At the war's end, in addition to tens
millions dead, wounded and made ho
less, Poland was still in the clutches o
totalitarian tyranny, and a number of ot
countries were in the same fix; Hitler's
Franco, was still in power; and Hitl
erstwhile coaggressor in the original *ca
de guerre* had become the personificati
of a menace as odious as Hitler hims
Meanwhile, six million Jews had perish
in the extermination camps despite the
forts of the Allies to liberate them. Inde
the war provided Hitler with added inc
tive to kill them off, and the ferocity
the Allied bombardments of German ci
virtually compelled the Germans to endo
whatever hideous means of salvation H
ler offered them.

"Realism" in Retrospect

The damage is done. We cannot go ba
to 1939 or 1914 or 1870 or 1861. We m
begin where we are now. Our politi
"realists" tell us why we must use immo
means in politics, and they point back
the wars of the past in order to chart
present policies. But the past that th
look back to is a mythical past that s
each war in its retrospective distorti
justifying World War II from the persp
tive of 1945, or the Civil War as it look
to the victors at Appomatox. Note th
this "realism" is always a view of the vic
from the point of victory. For the defeat
there is a different mystique of "realis

hich plays hob with that of the victor. History has again and again shown the tility of basing military strategy on past vents. The lessons of trench warfare, for nstance, led to the Maginot Line, which as useless against Hitler's *blitzkrieg*. The nly consistently true lesson about war eems to be that the quicker, the dirtier, he more fiendish weapon or strategy inariably has greater chances of military uccess. Other things being equal, the ough-and-ready sniping of the Continenals had the advantage over the civilized ormations of the British Regulars in the merican Revolution, just as the sneak ttack at Pearl Harbor gave the Japanese he edge in the Pacific War. If we were to e "realistic" in military terms only, we hould hasten at the earliest opportunity o smash all the Russian cities and military nstallations with our lirtiest and most powrful nuclear weapons. "Get them beore they get us." From a purely military oint of view and in hort-range terms, it nakes a great deal f sense, particularly while we continue to have an advantage n industrial potential.

But such an act would have disastrous onsequences beyond the immediate mili ary success, in a way that offers keen proof hat this is indeed a moral universe. We now that such an attack would be a great vil, and we are at least moral enough to nsist that our own evil, however great, hould be less than that of our adversary, whose evil we are obliged to eradicate beause it is so nearly absolute.

Lesser Evil vs. Least

In preferring a lesser evil, we recognize he moral dimension of the conflict. But what has become of the good? Why do we ot oppose evil with good, as Our Lord as told us? We are truly realistic only if ve recognize that to do so would require deepgoing, radical change in our way of ife, which is already imbued with so many inds of evil. To equip ourselves for horoughly doing good instead of evil would require such a transformation of American society as no government could ever achieve. It would be utopian to suggest that a government representing millions of people could carry out policies on its level which it would take great dedication for an individual human being to undertake in his personal life. A recognition of this folly would accordingly have to settle for something less than the absolute good; it would seek a compromise with evil on the best practicable terms that good could command. In other words, failing to be perfectly good, the government would strive to be as good as it could, embracing the least possible evil. If we understand that the ultimate power upon which our very existence, good or bad, depends, is a power of good, it will be readily apparent that the good we do does not go for naught, since it flows with the stream of the deepest reality. We must not mistake the backwaters of evil, into which we are inescapably drawn, for the main current, or even seek to use them as a shortcut.

There is no inescapable reason for choosing an evil which is merely "lesser" than that of your opponent. It is only less enough to afford a hypocritical sense of moral superiority, while the results it produces are as evil as the means it employs, so that the difference between "prewar" and "postwar" is likely to be chiefly the number of people who have perished in between. The decisive factor is not so much the quantity of power that is used in foreign policy, but the kind of power. If a military result is desired, military means have to be employed. But a greater wisdom would recognize that there is finally a basic contradiction between the military power as such, which is power to destroy or to frighten, power of an inherently evil nature; and another type of power which is of a different sort: power for good, power to help, to heal, to befriend.

It is greatly to the credit of the United States that it has sought to use its military power not as an end in itself but in conjunction with constructive power. Perhaps

the best example of this was the U. S. military occupation of Japan, which was greatly better for the Japanese than the Japanese occupation of the Philippines was for the Filipinos. But if the United States had had a friendlier policy toward Japan in the critical decades before Pearl Harbor, it might have avoided the Pacific War altogether. War is a particular form of repressive coercion; there are other kinds as well, and it is these which eventuate in war. The Versailles Treaty was, in this sense, a warlike act against defeated Germany, and the response it evoked was Hitler. There is little danger of a post-World War II Hitler arising in Germany because this time the West has befriended Germany instead of inflicting punishment. Hostile acts beget hostile acts, and the only way to halt the cycle is to substitute a friendly act.

We might discuss the benevolent policies we would adopt in occupied Russia after we defeated Russia in war at the price of many millions of people killed. If we adopted a policy of hostility such as we have now, we would sow the seeds of a later revenge, just as we now sow the seeds of reciprocal enmity. Or we could adopt a new policy of friendship. But suppose we decided not to pay the price of millions dead. Suppose we paid the price of millions living—a price of love instead of enmity. Suppose we decided now, before the costly and problematical victory of war, to adopt those policies toward Russia which we would in any case adopt later on.

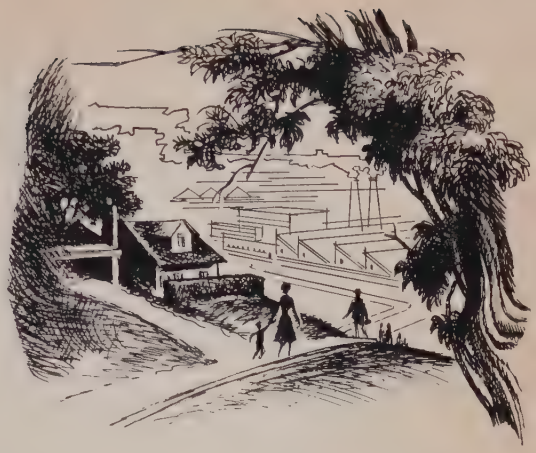
If the real difference between America and Russia is our Christianity and their godlessness, there are certainly better ways of proving it than matching them at their own game. We might surprise not only the Russians but ourselves too, if we embarked on a multi-billion-dollar program of de-imperialization, sharing our fabulous wealth with the colonial peoples who made it possible for us to have it. The means for such an enterprise are avaliable if we decided to do it.

The characteristic retort to which pacifism has always been vulnerable has been that human nature is so base that it cannot be left to its own devices to achieve the good. There is some truth in this observation, but it is only a partial truth. Histo affords a basis for both optimism a pessimism about the nature and destiny man but we must get beyond both. It only realism—in the true sense of the wo —which can be prepared both for the b and worst, and which can build a brid toward the good life that can arch over t depths of evil that humanity is capable A true realism must, in the end, be bas on the ultimate truth of God as consu mately good and loving.

We have ample proofs that the rig way cannot be found by purusing a cou of mere expediency. We must, on the oth hand, not deceive ourselves into an u justified optimism. If the right way is ha to take, it is nonetheless worth takin Choosing the least evil, far from implyi the most congenial course of action, m call for sacrifice. But there is an importa difference between self-sacrifice to ov come sin and our sacrificing of others s fully to avoid the consequences of th sin. We cannot deceive God with verb formulas. Only true repentance, expres in acts of love, holds any real hope. If lack sufficient faith to do God's will, let at least fail in the right direction.

"Peace," according to H. Richard N buhr, "is another name for social healt We have never spent so much time, ener and devotion on building it as we have war. We take both war and peace f granted. If we spent more on the latt we might be able to give it as dominant place in our world as war has come to ha Our world is sick. Communism is only o of the illness' symptoms. You cannot cu a headache by cauterizing the brain. Y may fight fire with fire, but if you want extinguish a fire, use a fire hose and hydrant. The perennial truth remains, t salvation lies not with the devil nor a lesser devilry. The healing of the soci organism can only be done with Go remedy for evil. There is no way to pea via war or any other manifestation enmity, evil or violence. If we cannot fi perfect love to obtain perfect peace, let at least strive with the least evil to remo war as an instrument of public policy a experiment with such attempts at peace we are capable of.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF *Disarmament*



BY WILLIAM H. MARWICK

THE MOST OBVIOUS economic consequence of disarmament would be the availability r other purposes of the now enormous ms (commonly reaching at least a third public revenue; in the current United ates federal budget two-thirds[1]) raised by xation for expenditure on armaments. his is in itself a matter of high impor- nce. From the medieval period taxation s been imposed primarily for war pur- oses, and has been recognized since the rliest days of economic theory as an es- ntial aspect of the subject. The 17th- and th-century "Cameralists" made it their ief concern; Adam Smith devoted a whole Book" of *The Wealth of Nations* to it, d David Ricardo entitled his epoch-mak- g book, *Principles of Political Economy d Taxation.*

The bias of these classical writers was to gard taxation as at best a necessary evil. hey advised minimizing it as far as pos- ble, and imposing it in such a way as to ssen its economic consequences; hence dam Smith's "Canons of Taxation." rtly as an inference from the modern llectivist trend, more recent economists ve tended to modify this position, regard- g "dynamic" taxation as a suitable in- rument both for redistributing wealth, ually with egalitarian aims, and for in- encing social policy, *e.g.,* discouraging nports (tariff duties), restraining con- mption (purchase tax). In a more gen- al way, the whole financial and credit system may be indirectly affected by ex- panding or restricting investment or purchasing power, through the increase or diminution of taxation.

Should (or could) taxes hitherto used for armaments be remitted, or should ex- penditure to a greater or less extent be di- verted to other purposes? The granting or loaning of credits to the backward areas of the world is a much publicized alternative, approved in principle by the United Na- tions in SUNFED as a contribution of one percent of national income. This proposal is advanced not only on economic grounds, but as a means of allaying some of the stresses which promote national animosities, and thereby encourage expenditure on armaments. To this point we may return when we have considered the deeper eco- nomic implications of disarmament.

The magnitude of expenditure on arma- ments involves important repercussions on the whole economy of a country. Andrew Shonfield, in contrast to those who empha- size the cost of the social services, main- tains that "it is not the philanthropists who have been chiefly responsible for the overloading of the British economy since the war. . . . It is a national attitude based on a historic view of Britain's role in the world, which leads to a succession of politi- cal decisions of an extremely costly char- acter."[2]

The fundamental point is that expendi- ture on armaments means a utilization of

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The Scotsman, Jan. 27, 1958.

[2] A Shonfield, *British Economic Policy since the War,* p. 90.

labor and capital for certain purposes. From this it follows that disarmament involves a cessation of this utilization, with obvious reactions on the economic position of the capitalists and laborers concerned; thus vested interests of both are created, and threatened. American readers may pardon my illustrating this from the British, and especially Scottish, experience that is most familiar to me.

The retention, whether by voluntary enlistment or conscription, of considerable numbers of men in the armed forces, has meant some "concealed unemployment." The flooding of the labor market by their sudden return to civilian life would create an immediate problem, as the enforced haste of demobilization after World War I exemplified. Against this has to be set the cost of their maintenance in unproductive activities, and the deterioration in technical skill and ability to work, which life in the armed forces is liable to foster in many.

In the years preceding World War I, when preparations for the impending conflict were being made, contracts for war vessels (*e.g.*, "Dreadnoughts") helped to stimulate the shipbuilding boom on the Clyde. Establishments of a specifically war nature were inaugurated under government auspices, such as the Rosyth Dockyard on the Forth, which drew there an increasing population (housed first in a "tin town," afterwards in a garden village), and the Ordnance Factory at Greenock. The acquisition of land for camping and training purposes as well as for industry—and more recently increased for airfields—represented an appreciable loss to agricultural production. With the outbreak of war, shipyards expanded and engineering factories were extended, and in some cases these were diverted from normal peacetime products to munitions. The labor force was swollen by "dilution" of labor and suspension of trade union rules on apprenticeship and demarcation.

With the Armistice, these industries' "best customer" died. Rosyth was put on a "care and maintenance" basis, and the heavy industries of the Clyde remained, with their excess of capital and labor, in chronic depression until the "rearmament" of the later 1930s. The phenomenon, after the similar boom of World War II, and the "rearmament" of the early 1950s, is no reappearing in milder form, through t closing of the establishments at Greenoc Donibristle in Fife, and Scapa Flow in t Orkneys, and "the bang that became whimper" of the largely abortive Sou Uist rocket range. All these have cont buted to the recession from the "full e ployment" that has obtained since the W

War Goods and Employment

This situation affords a test to the poli officially approved by the main politic parties in the famous "White Paper" 1944, which asserted, in sharp contrast the inter-war view, that it is within t duty and power of government to mai tain, by fiscal and credit devices, relative full employment. Has the "Keynesian rev lution" permanently modified, not only t minds of economists, but the course of ec nomic development? Or has its appare success (as was argued by some with rega to the first triumph of similar doctrines the Sweden of the 1930s) been due rath to an economic "conjuncture" whi would have had its effects irrespective "pump priming"?

The answer is obviously crucial to t solution of the economic consequences disarmament. If public policy both c and should direct expenditure from arm ments to more productive uses, then t immediate economic problem is large solved. If, on the other hand, such pub action is either misdirected (and th creates more problems than it solves) futile, as *laissez-faire* economists wou argue, disarmament must involve at le temporary economic disaster.

Apart from the wisdom of governmen which probably reflects the wisdom of ci zens ("we get the government we deserve and the consequent varied possibilities prudence in particular expedients, the are more tangible aspects to be considere

Among these, perhaps the most imp tant is the extent to which the nation economy has been adapted (or perverte to war purposes—the preoccupation Professor J. U. Nef's *War and Hum Progress*. Without going back into ea history, it seems clear that since the r of the modern state, both public a

ivate enterprise have been in some de-
ee directed or diverted to securing the
wer of the state rather than the welfare
the citizens. Henry VIII, in Bacon's
mous phrase, substituted a policy of
wer for a policy of plenty. The Eliza-
than "industrial revolution" was to some
tent associated with "improvements" of
e means of war in the technique of ship-
uilding and the manufacture of cannon
d gunpowder. The Industrial Revolution
two centuries later in Great Britain
incided with the later stages of the
cond Hundred Years War with France;
d the development of heavy industry
as bound up with the production of in-
ruments of war. For example, the pioneer
ottish ironworks at Carron specialized in
e type of artillery known as "carronades."
his association continued even during the
latively peaceful years of the mid-Vic-
rian Age of Plenty, which saw the rise
firms like Beardmores of Parkhead,
ickers and John Brown of Sheffield, and
hers largely dependent on munitions
ntracts. The linen and jute industries of
undee also received a stimulus from the
emands for canvas and sacking for the
rimean War and the American Civil War.

The Luxury of Armaments

Thus we have one of the paradoxes of
conomic development. Armament expen-
iture is in a sense a form of "luxury"
xpenditure, yielding no productive re-
rn. It also affords an example of elas-
city of demand, such as characterizes the
constructional" industries, as compared
ith the relatively rigid demand for con-
mptional necessities, such as food and
lothing. An economy geared to military
xpenditure is therefore a relatively pre-
arious one, peculiarly liable to recur-
ence of boom and slump, in accordance
ith the vagaries of governmental policy.

Economics theoretically aims at the maxi-
ization of utility at minimun cost. War
xpenditure implies the diminution of
tility (*e.g.*, reduction in supply of con-
mable goods) and disregard of costs, hu-
an as well as economic. Hence the pro-
teering, on which public obloquy is some-
imes centered, and the inflationary ten-
encies which seem to be the inevitable outcome of war and of cold war conditions. "The classical definition of inflation —of monetary demand outstripping available supplies—is almost unavoidable in times of rearmament."[3]

The one economic advantage that can be claimed for war expenditure is that it provides an incentive to invention, or at any rate the utilization of inventions, which would not otherwise materialize; and that advances in technique thus achieved may be subsequently used for peacetime purposes, as has occurred for instance in aviation.[4]

To some extent this is a technical matter, turning on the extent to which and how easily plant and equipment can be transferred from one purpose to another. The case of the Krupp industries in Germany illustrates the possibilities of such conversion. On the broader issue with which Nef has dealt, however, it seems questionable whether the economic advantages thus gained outweigh the destructive and dislocative propensities of war economy.

The possibilties of such diversion afford reasonable hopes of averting some of the more serious consequences of abandoning expenditure on armaments. It is of course impossible to isolate the effects on economy of a cessation of armaments from other factors more or less interdependent, such as the speed of technological change, the repercussions of the international economy upon any one nation, etc.

The most hopeful method of avoiding economic dislocation would appear to be the adoption of a policy which would also accord with the idealistic and humanitarian sentiment which advocates disarmament on ethical grounds. To avoid economic decline, "outlay" (in Beveridge's phrase) must be maintained; "employment depends on outlay, defined as the laying out of money as demand for the products of current industry."[5] The rising export of machinery and other engineering products, a feature of postwar British trade, was indeed prejudiced by the "rearmament" drive of the early 1950s. This "lost the country certain overseas business, which could not

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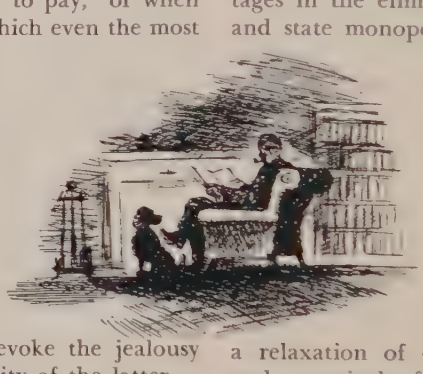
3 Barbara A. Ward, *Policy for the West*, p. 96.
4 S. Lilley, *Men, Machines and History*, p. 123.
5 William Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society*, p. 131.

be fulfilled because the productive resources of the engineering industries were stretched to the limit."[6]

These are the type of goods most required by the undeveloped countries, so considerable diversion of effort in this direction would be a practicable proposition. In the nature of things, it cannot indeed be a permanent solution, since the industrialization, and therefore self-producing capacity of other previously undeveloped areas, notably the USSR, is a matter of history.

Economics and Ethics

This prospect forces us back finally to the deeper issues, where economics impinges on ethics. A people like the British and the Americans, whose ideal is an ever-rising material standard of living, may be ready to discard expenditure on armaments once it no longer seems "to pay," or when it imposes an austerity which even the most skilled selling of the necessity of arms fails to make tolerable. They will, however, be disposed to decline any commensurable sacrifice to improve the position of the "have nots," and their "conspicuous waste and ostentatious leisure" will evoke the jealousy and encourage the hostility of the latter.



War encourages indulgence in wasteful luxuries as some compensation for its hardships; and this attitude of mind outlives the hardships. War, as Keynes said, "discloses the vanity of abstinence"; "Mars and Venus are akin"; "let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

War and near-war economy has also been a factor in the increasing trend to combination and near monopoly. Both world wars operated as forcing houses in this direction. Thus industrial relations are increasingly depersonalized; the cash nexus dominates. The supersession of individual enterprise and competition may be irremediable, though there is some historic warrant for the theory that there may be recurrent cycles in that respect. Some recent examples, of the type of the "takeover bid," seem t have no economic justification and to h merely means of financial manipulation. is thus at least possible that disarmamer might help to stay the dangerous trend t undue concentration of economic powe in the hands of the few. The "small con munity" proposed by Arthur Morgan i the United States and Wilfred Welloc in England will find a more favorabl climate of opinion in an unarmed worl

Less debatable, if less recognized, is th extent to which state control of economi life for war purposes has, in Great Britai at any rate, contributed to the achievemer of "nationalization" of major enterprise such as mines and railways (particularl important for war purposes). Similarl Germany, under both the Kaiser and Hi ler, enforced state control for strategi reasons. While there may be clear advar tages in the elimination of private profi and state monopoly may be preferable t private monopoly some of the defects— such as undue centra ization. bureaucrati administration, an disregard of the co sumer—are in part a tributable to wartim inheritance. Disarma ment might facilitat a relaxation of excessive state authorit and a revival of earlier socialist projec of democratic control by workers and co sumers. Classical socialist theory indeed e visaged "the withering away" of the stat rather than its proliferation.

Free trade was advocated by Cobden an Bright not only as economically expedien but as contributory to international coo eration and world peace. List, the protag nist of protection, in the United States an Germany, regarded tariffs as, like arma ments, necessities of national defense. Th old laissez-faire conception may be n longer realistic in these days of economi planning, but the underlying philosoph may be expressed in contemporary form i the varied agencies of international ec nomic cooperation now in existence (I ternational Bank, ILO, etc.). Competitiv

(Continued on Page 31)

[6] Shonfield, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

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RELIGION IN THE RACIAL CONFLICT

As this issue goes to press, conciliatory gestures by De Gaulle and hiang Kai-shek have brought some hope into two major areas of conflict, Al-eria and the Chinese offshore islands. In South Africa the government has uddenly withdrawn its indictment in the treason trials, but between October 20 nd 23, nearly nine hundred black women were arrested for demonstrating against e issuance of identity books or passes" which represent a further ncroachment on their vanishing lib-ties.

In the United States, too, the ac-ent was on race, with a considerable lmixture of religion.

In Birmingham, Alabama, on Oct.), the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth and ome twenty other Negroes were ar-sted and charged with breach of the eace when they sat in seats reserved r whites on two city buses.

On October 12, the bombing of a ewish synagogue in Atlanta brought idespread protests, including one y President Eisenhower, who has sually been content to remain silent n the whole struggle in the South. I think we all share a feeling of rror," the President said, "that ny person should desecrate the holy ace of any religion." Later, in a tter to Rabbi Joachim Prinz, pres-ent of the American Jewish Con-ress, Eisenhower stated that he ould give "careful consideration" a proposal by Rabbi Prinz for a hite House conference on the matter.

Evangelist Billy Graham said, Every Christian should take his stand gainst these outrages." Noted theo-gian Paul Tillich, who fled Nazi ermany in 1933, said that the bombing follows very much the pattern ex-erienced in Germany during Hitler's se to power....Violence is an indica-on of a rebellion against the in-lligentsia and the 'egghead' and of search for a scapegoat."

Closer to the scene, the Georgia Council of Churches expressed "heart-felt sympathy for our Jewish friends" and stated: "In an environment where Judaism is not safe, Christianity is also in danger."

Although many Christian ministers have forthrightly condemned violence in the Southern crisis, churches continue to give tacit or open support to racial inequality. In Little Rock and in Front Royal, Va., to cite only two examples, churches have voted to conduct segregated private schools, aiding state officials in their evasion of Federal law.

Often such actions meet with opposition from the minister. A Baptist pastor in Front Royal, for instance, called his church's decision "contrary to the very nature of the Church" and added that it "is in effect an evasion of Federal law."

A survey of ministers in 17 Southern states, conducted by *Pulpit Digest*, showed last month that from 50 percent (South Carolina) to 89 percent (Kentucky) favored integration. Only 3 percent of a total of 765 answers favored open disobedience to the U. S. Supreme Court decision. Nearly all of those favoring school integration were also for abolishing color barriers in their own churches, but they were sure the congregations would not permit it.

The challenge is there; it cannot be evaded forever. Either the congregations will drag the churches down or the ministers, by the grace of God, will lead their people out of darkness into the way of peace and brotherhood

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Nazarenes Persecuted By Yugoslav Government

According to the War Resisters International, 27 young members of a Christian pacifist sect, the Nazarenes, are being subjected to cruel punishments on Goli otok, a Yugoslav equivalent of Devil's Island, in the Adriatic Sea.

"It is alleged," reports WRI Secretary Arlo Tatum, "that men are being bound together, thrown into the sea and hauled out again half-drowned and unconscious."

There are about 200 Nazarenes in other Yugoslav prisons, twenty of them serving their third term for refusing to bear arms.

In France, which has never had provisions for conscientious objectors, a new policy was in the making. In the October 3 issue of *Liberté*, it was reported that French Army Minister Guillaumat has ordered the unconditional release of all COs who have served five years of their sentences. This may be the first step towards recognition of COs there.

Canada Church Council Urges Renunciation of War

Renunciation of war "as an instrument of national policy" was called for in Ottawa last month by the General Council of the United Church of Canada.

A resolution presented by the council's Committee on the Church and International Affairs said that Canada should "press also for an international agreement halting all nuclear tests" because "they endanger the healthy survival of the human race."

Quote Unquote

"If members of armies gave to the no more of their lives than do b lievers to the churches to which the belong, there would be a militar crisis."

--C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, p.

"A just war is no longer possib in this age of atomic weapons....W with atomic weapons means the murd of whole peoples....

"Because we repudiate atom weapons, we must repudiate war. Wh seemed only a few decades ago to b absurd utopianism has now become claim that cannot be denied. And it for the Church to shout that claim the world, so loudly that it cannot b be heard: There must be no more war!

--Bishop Otto Dibelius in *The Ec umenical Review*, July 1958.

"To go to war for Quemoy or Mats to me would seem an unwarranted an tragic course to take....

"Such an action would be impossibl to limit. It would bring us into direc conflict with the Red Chinese. would spread to full and all-out wa employing all the terrible weapons our command.

"To me nothing could more tragic ally demonstrate our complete and utte moral bankruptcy than for us de liberately to initiate a 'preventiv war.' Once we take that absolutel fatal step our civilization would b doomed."

--General Matthew B. Ridgway in *Soldier*, published in 1956

"Where are my hand grenades? can't go to sleep without my han grenades."

--a four-year-old American boy, quote in the *Chicago Daily News*.

"A relaxation of tensions and dis armament will not fall from the heav ens like a gift. They will have to b achieved step by step....Let us d our part to increase the hope for permanent peace and unity in free dom."

--Erich Ollenhaue

Ralph Richard Keithahn, president the Indian FOR, was an honored uest at Shadowcliff on October 21. e arrived in the United States Oc- ber 14 and will be here for six months r consultation, conferences and peaking engagements.

Keithahn has spent thirty years in dia as a Congregationalist mission- ry. He was a friend of Gandhi and has orked with Vinoba Bhave. After 8 ears in the rural training center of andhi Gram, he has in the last two ears lived in a succession of Indian illages trying to spread Christ- entered *Sarvodaya* at the level of the ndian village.

While in the U. S., Keithahn will peak about the Sarvodaya movement nd Indian life and the FOR and hopes o visit several American intentional ommunities and get in touch with the egro nonviolent movement for social ustice. He will be in the East all this onth, in the Chicago area until De- ember and in Minnesota over the hristmas holidays. He may be con- acted through the Rev. John Nevin ayre, IFOR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

* * *

FOR member M.R. Zigler, who was adly hurt in an automobile accident n August, was reported "improving ery rapidly" at the hospital in Vas- rvik, Sweden, and will be discharged ithin the month "if no complications ppear." Dr. Zigler is European repre- entative of the Church of the Brethren.

* * *

On Oct. 17, three noted churchmen iscussed "The Christian Way in the -bomb Age" at a New York FOR Con- rence held at the Duane-Metropolitan hurch.

The panelists were FOR member harles T. Leber, Presbyterian leader, erman Reissig of the United Church f Christ, and John C. Bennett, Dean f Union Theological Seminary. FOR ecretary-Emeritus A. J. Muste served s moderator. In the discussion, Dr. ennett indicated that events had caused him to abandon his former advocacy of nuclear deterrence, but he felt unable to embrace the pacifist alternative presented by Dr. Leber, who urged that the church in the United States should take a "prophetic" stand. Dr. Reissig emphasized the view that the church should be hesitant to criticize those who bear the burden of policy-making responsibility.

On Oct. 18, after a summary of the above by Dr. Titus Podea and A. J. Muste, a number of discussion groups were held, concluding with an address by former FOR chairman Phillips P. Elliott, minister of First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn.

* * *

Preview of the new film, *Alternatives*, was scheduled for early this month. The film, with script by Stanford Sobel and narration by Don Murray, deals with the various courses of action which may be taken by a conscientious objector faced with the draft. It was produced by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors in cooperation with the FOR and other peace agencies.

* * *

Federal Judge Edward M. Curran last month upheld the State Department's refusal to issue a passport to pacifist reporter William Worthy. Worthy, as well as two correspondents for *Look* magazine, visited Communist China two years ago in spite of an edict by John Foster Dulles prohibiting Americans from going there. New passports have since been issued to the *Look* reporters.

* * *

FOR Co-Secretary John M. Swomley Jr. is producing statements on items of current interest to pacifists, based on study and research for the guidance of FOR Group Leaders and National Council members. Anyone may obtain copies of these statements by sending a self-addressed, stamped envelope to Mr. Swomley at the National Office. Statements now available concern the De Gaulle "revolution" in France; the Quemoy-Matsu crisis; and the strategy of limited war.

NEWS from the peace front

On October 3, the Rt. Rev. G. K. A. Bell, retired Bishop of Chichester, died at the age of 75. Although not a pacifist, Dr. Bell spoke out forthrightly during World War II against reprisals and obliteration bombing, and until his death he was a vigorous advocate of the prohibition of nuclear weapons. In the opinion of many, he might have become Archbishop of York had it not been for his wartime utterances.

A memorial service was conducted at St. Martin-in-the-Fields on October 14 by Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches.

* * *

At the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) a resolution was passed on Oct. 20, calling for an end to the Selective Service program when the Universal Military Training Service Act expires next July. FOR National Council member Barton W. Hunter, social welfare secretary of the Disciples' United Christian Missionary Society, declared that the draft issue was "not a question of pacifism but of halting the deliberate indoctrination of each succeeding generation from the military point of view."

The convention also endorsed a plan that would permit citizens to contribute up to 2 percent of their income tax to the United Nations instead of to the United States, while at the same time abolishing tax deductions for "entertainment for business purposes." A similar proposal by Rep Edith Green died in committee in the last session of Congress.

DATES TO REMEMBER

Nov. 14-15. AFSC Seminary Conference on Church and War, Lincoln, Mass. Write: George Marshfield, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Nov. 19-22. AFSC Seminar on Civil Rights and Liberties, Washington, D.C.

Dec. 26-30. Volunteers for Peace training program. Bainton, Muste, Freeman, Gregg, Bigelow, Whitney *et al*, at FOR Headquarters. Write Earle H. Warner, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

Dec. 25-31. Peacemaker Peace and Good Will Walk in Puerto Rico. Write Valerie Aldrich, 53 West 73 St., N.Y.C.

Jan. 30 -- Feb. 2, 1959. Internes in Nonviolence training program. Muste, Hazzard, Lawrence, Dodson, Gregg, Bigelow, Smiley *et al*, at FOR Headquarters. Write: Earle H. Warner, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

April 20-23, 1959. Church Peace Mission Conference at First Baptist Church, Evanston, Ill. Write: A. J. Muste, Church Peace Mission, 113 Broadway, New York City.

The Century of Diminished Man

"In this 'Century of the Common Man' modern man is a diminished man--his personality has been shattered....Man is enslaved and victimized by his own creations. He is intimidated by the war techniques which were supposed to safeguard his physical existence....More blood has been spilled, more cities destroyed, more empires overthrown and more ghastly crimes committed than in any previous century.

"We are engulfed by a diplomacy that acts upon principles of political and economic expedience with the selfishness of the strong, instead of frankly accepting the basic human dignities and aspirations of all people and valuing them for the contribution they can make to civilization as a whole.

--Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord speaking at Buck Hill Falls, Oct. 25.

PACIFISM *and the Castle of Faith*

BY NELS F. S. FERRÉ

This article is adapted from an address by Dr. Ferré given at the National Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Laurel Park, Mass., on August 30, 1958. Following the article, on page 25, are questions put to Dr. Ferré by FOR National Council members Paul K. Deats and Richard A. Chartier, with Dr. Ferré's replies. —THE EDITORS

OBVIOUSLY the Fellowship of Reconciliation should be a central organization today's world, and still we all recognize at, to most people, the pacifist witness is eologically irrelevant. That is our prob-n, and therefore there is constantly a eat need to rethink our message and the eans and terms of its communication. I ed not say that the main emphasis for of us should be on the making of peace, t on our own personal morals or on rsonal purity. A Christian is in the deep- sense a pacifist or he is not a Christian, cause the very nature of the Christian th is to *make* peace, to be within the lowship of reconciliation.

There is a real reason for the obvious mity between contemporary theology d the making of peace in our sense. e all have a theology of some kind. eology is the study of God, of ultimate lity. The only question is whether it is od or bad, adequate or inadequate. Now am going to discuss this in terms of a rable. I am going to speak of the Chris-n faith as a castle to be defended. the Christian faith, classically, I derstand a God who in some real sense is creator of the universe, a God who in some real sense controls the world, a God who in the fullness of time identified himself with the world, took on its suffering and victoriously broke through sin, law and death by the resurrection from the dead—a God who ultimately will fulfill history in his time and his way.

Now I am going to put two kinds of theology on the left and two on the right. This has nothing to do with the sheep and the goats. They are *all* goats! On the extreme right are the fundamentalists, who in general spend most of their time crying "heretic, heretic!" because the defenders of the castle are no longer using bows and arrows, and who also spend a good proportion of their time attacking the true defenders of the castle.

Next, on the moderate right, are the neo-Calvinists or the neo-orthodox, however you define them. These are the people who say the castle is so strong and so beautiful that it needs no defense; it is not up to the soldiers to defend the castle, it is up to the castle to defend the soldiers—what we have to do is to accept the castle, enjoy it, worship and obey its Lord.

Then on the left, nearest to the castle, we have the liberals. These are the people who say that those who are attacking the castle are not really enemies but friends. The only trouble is that they do not understand that the castle is the best place for them to live; if only you could show them what the real nature of the castle is, they'd all be inside. But there is one problem with the castle: it is not modernized. What we have to do is put in plumbing and air-conditioning.

On the extreme left are the neo-naturalists—Wieman, Bultmann, Tillich. The neo-naturalists are the people who say that the castle itself it outmoded: it not only *cannot* be defended, it *should not* be defended, and therefore they move out of the castle. But they insist upon keeping the uniform and they spend a good deal of their time attacking the "outmoded" defenders of the castle, and the rest of the time trying to convince the people who don't wear the uniform to put it on.

Pacifism and the Theologies

Now, how do these theologies relate to pacifism?

Let us not say that there is no basis in fundamentalism for pacifism, because all of us realize that we have good fundamentalist friends who are pacifists, but the pacifism of most fundamentalists is at least not of the kind for which the Fellowship of Reconciliation stands. Some pacifists of this group are Jehovah's Witnesses who take the Bible quite literally, and those of you who were in CO camps and other places know that they will not go to war because for them there is only one war, the war of the elect—not for reasons of this general idea of reconciliation for which we stand. But in general, pacifism is not a strong part of the fundamentalist message. There is too much fear in actual fundamentalism, too much basing itself on invidious comparisons with the world for it to be a genuine, universal fellowship of reconciliation and love.

Neo-orthodox theology, of course, has called the Fellowship of Reconciliation anathema, because the Fellowship stands for the kind of perfectionism against which neo-orthodox theology originally revolted. There is no easy way that the Fellowshi of Reconciliation can appropriate neo-o thodox theology or that neo-orthodox th ology can become the basis of a genuin pacifist theology. Kierkegaard, the ver father of neo-orthodox theology, first of a stood for the absolute commitment to Goo the "purity of heart which is to will on thing" and the refusal in any way to com promise the Christian faith with the way of the world. He also stood, at the depth of his being, against the organized churc and against all the compromises of whic the organized church was guilty. Therefor I can see how, from this point of view you can take Kierkegaard's method an message and arrive at a protesting grou who, in the name of God, demand tha every individual has a forthright witness t make to the fullness of the incarnation an to the fullness of the kind of fellowshi which the Christian faith ought to b There is a hint to show the possibility o a genuine change in neo-orthodoxy in r lation to pacifism.

Apart from true Christianity (all the groups are inadequate to Christianit which is the castle), I think liberalism lend itself most easily to pacifism. Liberalism b its very nature is relevant and insofar as has emphasized love, experience and com munity, liberalism lends itself to pacifist The very definite weakness of liberalis has been a misunderstanding of human n ture, a refusal to see man as he actually The painting of man's sinfulness is n theological imagining of the neo-orthodo anyone who really knows himself and th world, knows that it is far easier to pa more attention to himself and to his ow group interests than to incarnate constan ly the fact of Christ's love, universal lov There has often been no genuine comin to terms with the fact of man's sinfulne on the part of liberal theology.

All of us live at the same time in diffe ent types of communities. For one, we li in a theoretical community—a communi of ideas. We also live in a community feeling and we may often agree with peop in a community of ideas without agreei with them in a community of feeling. the Deep South I once heard a Sund school teacher say that a Christian is Christian only if he is so open that

uld invite anybody to his home. I know ry well that if I had got up and said, Would you invite a Negro to your home r Sunday dinner?" there would have been edlam. So far as ideas or theory were ncerned, anybody was a person and we l belonged—but with regard to the comunity of feeling, we lived in different orlds.

There is also a community of doing, in rms of which talk is generated by the eed of an institution to do certain things nd also by the need to defend the idea the institution. Liberalism usually has welt on the level of ideas, or it has gone ght into the level of direct action. There as been very little ttention to total man n his relation to God. very person, in the ommunity of his beng, at the depth of is life, is inescapably elated to God, the God who is the Auhor of eternal love nd who is the very ource and origin f his being. At this evel of depth we speak ot in words of man's isdom but in words that are bound to ommunicate even though they can be rected. Liberalism has failed basically to ove down from the level of sweetness and ght to this deeper level because of its ck of an adequate theology.

Now what about neo-naturalism? Inso- r as neo-naturalism has identified itself ith love, without minimizing the probm, in cases like Tillich's theology, of uman irrationality and sin, a realistic theogical basis for pacifism could be worked ut by this movement. But no such pacifism as resulted as yet. The real difficulty with he position, however, is that it lacks pow- beyond man's own striving. It has at ast no power such as classical Christian anscendence. That is part of liberalism's roblem, we recall. But this new naturalisc position has less transcendence and more nfulness of man, no God who acts in rovidence and a worse view of man! Neoaturalism offers little hope, therefore, as theological basis for pacifism.

How did these "heresies" come about historically? For many centuries classical Christianity stood unchallenged. In classical Christianity man took for granted God and the fact that man had to relate himself ultimately to God. Then, at the beginning of the modern era, Descartes shifted the balance when he said, "I think, therefore I am," and centered the method of knowing on man rather than on a church or the Bible with revelation from above.

David Hume then said that if this finite world is not altogether good—as we know it isn't—then how can you ever prove that there is a good God, an infinite God? All that exists is a finite effect, and from a finite effect at best you can go to a finite cause; you cannot logically go to an infinite cause. Therefore there is no possible way that you can know that there is any God. If you knew there was any ground of our being, since the world is not all good, you cannot know that God is both good and wise.

Now along came Kant, to say, in effect: let's do away with all this business of trying to know the ultimate and the necessities of anything beyond this world, and confine ourselves to the knowledge of the things in this world which seem to be necessary, as far as our experience is concerned.

After this, most educated people dropped all reference to knowledge of a world beyond this or to God. Liberalism was a valiant attempt to say that, even if we don't know anything beyond this world, still we have this heritage of classical Christian transcendence, and at least the Christian faith can prove itself to be real, relevant and true in terms of man's needs. Liberalism was a tremendous attempt to synthesize classical Christianity with modern knowledge, but in so doing, liberalism became guilty of an internal inconsistency: the inconsistency of trying to prove what is *most* real in terms of what is *less* real, to prove what is absolute and ultimate in terms of what is only an approximation.

Sören Kierkegaard long ago had pounced upon liberalism with great fury and said: If we have seen the nature of God in Jesus Christ, there is no possible way that you can prove the ultimate in terms of an approximation—experience, history, etc. Kierkegaard lay buried until Barth came along. Then Barth, in 1920, taking advantage of Kierkegaard's criticism of liberalism and the internal inconsistency of liberalism, tore liberalism to pieces. As long as liberalism floated on cultural optimism it could get along, but with the incoming of the catastrophic twentieth century, liberalism was done.

All Barth did was to say: Let's return again, to have method and content go together. But in so doing, Barth removed the Christian faith from its relevance and relation to this world and made it arbitrary and fortuitous. Then along came Bultmann and Tillich, who said: All right then, if the Christian faith is completely arbitrary and if it can't be shown to be true in terms of this world, it's prescientific; it's unreal. Let's de-mythologize the whole thing; let's reinterpret it in terms of man's experience. What Bultmann and Tillich basically did was to do away with classical Christian transcendence, supernaturalism. This is why Tillich and Bultmann, who are now the leading theologians, are on the left of liberalism.

Love and the New Being

What should be the theological basis of pacifism? I believe, personally, that true Christian faith centers in the enmanning of God in Christ as universal love. God is *Agape*—completely outgoing, concerned, creative and redemptive love, best seen in the death of Jesus Christ for enemies on the cross—the complete self-giving of God for mankind within and in real relation to man. This is not magic or theophany. What we have in Jesus Christ is a *person,* and a person is always empty at the center, because a person is made for a deeper reality than himself, the incoming of the reality of God as Personal Spirit, universal love, so fulfilling the man that here you have the true relation of God to man and of man to God—the Godman. I take this as the basis of pacifism—the showing of the nature of reality in terms of universal lov in the life, teaching, death and resurrectio of Jesus Christ.

Now then, if this is true, what happe to pacifism? I believe that pacifism shoul stand for the inviolate and uncompromi ing loyalty to the fullness of time. By th fullness of time I mean a new kind c community, inclusive and fully concerne that refuses to accept a partial communit as ultimate because God has shown his ow heart and has shown man's true destin If people do not understand or do n accept this, it is completely unrealistic t expect them to accept pacifist standards c motivation and certainly action. The exi tential problem in pacifism therefore b comes how, actually, to realize the kind c community for which we are made. Th kind of community is our own best wi ness! The problem is, further, how to con municate to the world in general the natu and reality of this new being and this ne community.

Three Problems for Pacifists

We need to face three important prob lems. The first is the problem of transcen dence—the problem of what is more tha this world and how we can genuinely b come accessible to the greater source c reality in relation to which we can becom a far more effective witness. I believe tha we answer this problem when we accep a real doctrine of incarnation—when w believe that the fullness of time has con once for all, and that the fullness of tim is for us. It is only insofar as we open ou selves in repentance, in humility, in obed ence, in gratitude and in service to Go and we ourselves become indwelt by Hi who is universal love, that we can, by power and a reality not our own, effect kind of fellowship which alone can hav power to speak in the deepest and fulle language to a world in need.

Another important problem for pacifis is the problem of relevance. If other-worl liness does not connect, this-worldline does not move, but if we believe in i carnation, if we genuinely believe that is the very nature of God to come in our lives if we let him, then we do n search for relevance in an other-world

igion because we have already seen in tory and experience the relevance of the ristian faith. It is here for us to accept d to live. The problem then becomes e of an adequate and effective appropri- on. We of the Fellowship can no longer k down our self-righteous noses and say, ook at those poor people who don't ac- ot our Gospel." The trouble is with *us* sically; as the Bible says, judgment be- is with the house of God. The problem not that the world does not hear, but y doesn't it hear? What is the matter th our lives that they have so little im- ct and so little power and relevance?

The third problem is the problem of mmunity. This problem should be an- ered by the power of incarnation inso- as faith gives us recourse to that which beyond us. I am more and more con- nced that we shall never be the instru- nts of the incoming of a new and a tter age until we ourselves become open the reality which is beyond ourselves d is the world's only hope. Therefore, th is needed, but faith must be fulfilled hope as the basis of a new creative kind communication and a creative way of ing. Faith and hope must be themselves fulfilled in terms of the fellowship of con- n which seeks the freedom and faithful- ss in fellowship for which we are made.

To Live This Love

The world's greatest need is not only an equate understanding but an adequate acceptance of the full meaning and reality of the Incarnation. I believe that Julien Benda is right in his book, *Man in an Age of Lovelessness,* when he says that man's greatest need is for the actual experience of true love, because everyone, at the center of his being, is made for it. But people dare not accept this, Benda says, for one of two reasons—either because they have never seen an adequate living of it, and therefore don't know what it is, or because they have seen so much false love that they really are afraid to commit their lives to this true love. Therefore, the inviolate community of the Christian faith needs more than anything else to live this love, and if it lives it, it can't help being the leaven which cannot change the world without converting it. This love can effect the world's vision and give it enabling power, if we are willing to pay the price of living it.

The older I grow, the less tense I become, the less I feel the kind of awkward urgency which is atheism and faithlessness, and the more I become convinced that if we are going to accomplish what is needed, we must put ourselves humbly and fully into God's hands and become a fellowship of faith. Within this fellowship of faith we shall find the resources, the wisdom and the power without which there is no genuine hope for the world. Insofar as you are found faithful, "Fear not, little flock. It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom."

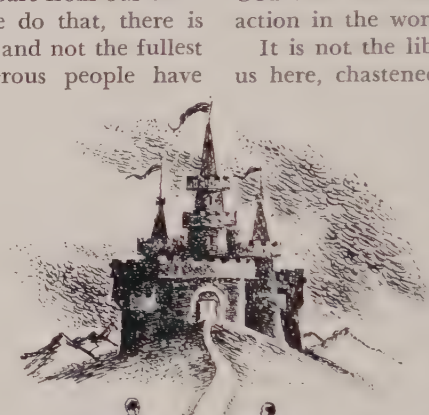
TOWARD AN ADEQUATE THEOLOGY

THREE QUESTIONS AND DR. FERRE'S ANSWERS

UL K. DEATS: There is an implication roughout your brief historical survey, that nan's attitude toward war and peace pro- eds from his theology in an almost logi- extension of what his basic beliefs are. this I'm not quite so sure. I suspect at our theology and the position on this ectrum are also shaped in part, at least, the position we take concerning certain ucial social issues. A man may be a lib- l or a neo-orthodox or what-have-you, as much because of the answer that he wants to give to some questions in the social, economic, and political arena as because of his theological presuppositions.

DR. FERRÉ: Theology is the interpretation of our ultimate presuppositions, our ultimate stance. All of us necessarily, insofar as we have a history of moral and spiritual decisions, have some presuppositions, some ultimate presupposition which cannot be

proved any more than God can be proved. (In fact, this *is* your God; you can't *prove* anything more real than that.) All of us necessarily have a theology insofar as we have any kind of interpretation of our own history of decision, the configuration, pattern or posture of our life. But it is also true to say that not all of us are monotheists. Many of us have more than one God; we are henotheists. Not all of us are unified personalities, such that our action necessarily flows from our basic stance in life; on the contrary, we have picked up, incidentally, here and there, points of view which have become relatively integrated and where we operate apart from our theological stance. When we do that, there is inconsistency in our life and not the fullest available power. Numerous people have the pacifist position but do not have what I should think to be an adequate theology. There are also some people who have a conscious theology derived from certain sources historically, which is not actually the expression of their deepest and fundamental drive in life. John Baillie is completely right: "There is a religion at the top of our head and there is a religion at the bottom of our heart." Some pacifists *think* that they have a poor theology. Their verbalization or articulation of it is poor, but deep down in their commitment they are worshiping the true God far more fully and realistically than other people who perhaps have a "correct" theology but don't carry it out in the basic drive of their lives so as to be reconcilers of the love of God.



II

PAUL K. DEATS: In what little reading of the history of theology and the Church I've done, whenever too "sinful" an interpretation is made of human nature, there has been a corresponding devaluation of the nature and function of the state as a political instrument. The state exists typically to restrain the sinfulness of man and has no positive function. But at the same ti that theologians stress the sinfulness man and devalue the state, they go on t to give almost unlimited power to a p ticular state as over against another st or group of states. What theological w dom do we get, Dr. Ferré, for know which human institutions and instrum talities we can trust as remedies for s and when do we have to put trust in t men who make up the human instrume and human instrumentalities?

I would add that I am not sure that t people who stress human sinfulness spe enough time talking about the doctrine God and the redemptive power of Go action in the world.

It is not the liberals, if there are any us here, chastened though we may be the last thirty-five forty years, who underestimating t sinfulness of man. may be the better p of wisdom, in deali with the tremendo power that is put in certain men's hands these days, to arg from the sinfulness man to the need controls upon the m who have this pow than to put it t other way around.

DR. FERRÉ: I would not stress the sinf ness of man as basic to our understandi of man. If I did so I would be guilty stressing man more than God. The u mate theological category is God, not ma Man is *essentially* good, in the sense th his origin is from God. Man is essentia good in that his basic relationship is God. Man is essentially good insofar as destiny is the call by God to a new ki of community. But the fact that man essentially good in no way minimizes t fact that *actual* man is not essential ma that we do not, in our motivation and our action, live up to the kind of love which we are made. Even though essent man is good, actual man has to be admitt to be more easily moved by himself and his partial loyalties than by the univer

e of God. We all know that. You can rt almost any kind of trouble by ap- ls to partial loyalties and fear, but try mobilize the world for the Fellowship Reconciliation by appealing to univer- love! People don't come thronging to FOR, not even by the thirty thousand e those who come to Billy Graham! They t don't come thronging because they are "good." William James said long ago at it is much harder to mobilize people peace than for war, or to find a moral uivalent for war.

III

CHARD A. CHARTIER: My theological nking has been influenced by Sören erkegaard, whom I am quite sure would t have considered himself a pacifist, and einhold Niebuhr, who in fact is not a cifist. My dilemma is that I have accepted ny of their theological and ethical in- hts without accepting the conclusion at thereby my pacifism was invalidated. would appreciate it if in your remarks u would address yourself a little more lly to whether there is an adequate basis r pacifism in Kierkegaard, for example, his categories—the aesthetic, ethical and ligious. Also in Niebuhr—I find to my tonishment, that I accept many of his eological and ethical conclusions. I think at Niebuhr would accept what you have id about the Christian community being community of men who have been de- emed by the fact that God has come ong men in Jesus Christ and that their es are transformed, redeemed, transmut- by this fact. But Niebuhr would say at the ethic that flows out of this com- unity is not relevant in any direct way to e problems of man in society.

Therefore the other side of the coin the question whether moral man— religious man, as I would prefer to say terms of the Christian faith—can some- w relate this "obedience ethic" to the mands of a world where the lines of dis- nction are not easily drawn, where man nds again and again manifestations of his ollective egoism," as Niebuhr would say, here social problems overlap, where in- itutional problems are thorny and diffi- lt of solution, where there is no easy way apply the insights of love to the demands of justice—in short, how do we make this ethic relevant?

DR. FERRÉ: I would find it very difficult, knowing Kierkegaard, Barth and Niebuhr as I do, to arrive at a genuine and thoroughgoing pacifist position from their theology. That is my basic conviction. But we humans are strange beings. As Paul Deats has pointed out, we don't operate necessarily from first premises and go down logically. There is a way of picking out those things in Kierkegaard, Barth and Niebuhr which could become the basis of pacifism, but I personally believe that as long as Reinhold Niebuhr does not have an adequate doctrine of the presence of God in human history, in terms of incarnation, in terms of the redemptive community, he has no real doctrine of the Church. He has no real doctrine, theologically, of the Holy Spirit. He has no real doctrine of the communication of the spiritual reality to the world. His theology is basically on the level of social ethics—the theology of the State Department.

Barth, again, has no real doctrine of God on the level of creation. In his recent book, *The Humanity of God,* Barth has said that he was desperately wrong in his original Barthianism. We needed a protest then against a vacuous and inadequate kind of liberalism, but our problem, now, he says, is to stress the humanity of God, God on the level of creation. But he dosen't do it.

The main argument of these men, as has been pointed out, is that love is an ethic which is relevant as far as family life and the church is concerned. But as soon as you take it out into the political arena you have to recoin Christian language into a language of justice. Justice is the level on which the Christian faith becomes relevant—not in terms of love. In my opinion, this is a perversion of the meaning of justice as well as the meaning of love. The two cannot be separated. The very nature of love from the Christian point of view involves the highest possible justice available, a *redemptive* justice. I cannot see therefore how, keeping this level and this distinction of the neo-orthodox, you can really move into an adequate theology of pacifism.

potpourri

Nonviolent Rumble in Cheyenne

On the weekend of June 28-29, eight Chicagoans responded to Arthur Springer's call to the nonviolent action project then going on in Cheyenne, Wyoming, and set out by automobile, arriving on Monday, June 30. We made our camp in a spruce grove in Legion Park, on the northern edge of the city.

Wednesday night we returned late from a busy day of work and sat down to supper about 11:30 p.m. As we were finishing our meal, a car drove by and we heard obscenities shouted at us. Then there was quiet, and we dismissed the incident from our minds.

I was washing the supper dishes half an hour later when I heard somebody shout, "What are you doing there?" I turned, and in the bright moonlight I saw two men standing on the other side of the fence that bordered the park. I went over to them and asked what they wanted. They were soon joined by five others—all young men, about 17 to 25—and four members of our group came over to find out what was going on.

The strangers, who were dressed in levis and workshirts, some with jackets and stetsons, wanted to know what we were in Cheyenne for, and how long we were staying. They appeared to have been drinking. They asked how many of us were there and wanted to know if there were any women with us. After talking for about twenty minutes, they turned and went down the embankment to their car. In a little while they reappeared. We talked some more and invited them to breakfast. They declined. We asked them to leave us in peace. This they did after a while, but not without leaving a torrent of obscenities in their wake.

The next day we discussed the visit. I wondered if perhaps our visitors had known why we were in Cheyenne, and were part of a scheme to intimidate us. Others thought we might be camping on what the local gangs regarded as their private reservation. Our attitude was discussed, too, and it was suggested that we had not show complete faith in God—we should eith have gone about our business or else fered them a cordial invitation to join in coffee. Some of us felt that we ha acted with all the courtesy that could expected of us, and the matter rested wi general agreement that there would be further disturbance.

We went to bed peacefully on Thursd night—but at 2 a.m. we were awakened the sound of loud voices and the explosi of firecrackers. The gang hung back fro the grove in which our tents were pitche and we hurriedly held a council of no violence and decided what to do if t gang attacked us.

We could hear them, whipping up the enthusiasm for a fight. "Let's go get 'em one of them said. "Shall we use knives asked another, as they approached.

There were four of us in camp at th time—Kenneth Calkins, Lowell Picket Martin Henner and I—the others bei away. We four stepped out of the grov standing shoulder-to-shoulder, and went meet our attackers. There were at least dozen of them, some holding clubs or ga rison belts.

"What can we do for you gentlemen?" asked.

"Say, look guys—we've got a rumble one of the gang sneered. "Let's go get 'e now! There's only four of 'em—we don need clubs."

We stood our ground, and the gang advance halted. "What can I do for you I repeated. "Your attitude is hardly a expression of Western hospitality."

"Oh, that one again—that voice!" o of the gang jeered. "Can't anybody el talk?" They muttered threats, abundant peppered with obscenities.

We asked calmly that we be left peace, and stated that we would not figh but would not retreat, either. Why, w asked, were they molesting us? "We g hauled in by the cops for drunkeness whe we camp here," was the reply.

We asked them to leave us in peace for
night and return to have breakfast
h us and talk things over. "We don't
nt coffee, we want five bucks!" was the
ort.

For a half an hour or so, things went
this way. The gang members jostled
h other, one of them urging another
hit one of us. But none of them did.
d in fact all this led to was a good deal
scuffling among the members of the
ng. Every so often, a short fellow shouted,
ome on, let's clean 'em up and get this
mble over with," but nobody wanted to
the first to take him up on it.

Finally, one of them said, "Aw, let's go
ck to town and find some Air Force
boys to rumble with." The gang began gradually to withdraw, and after they were out of sight, in the darkness we could still hear them scuffling and swearing.

Suppose the gang had attacked? The fact is that they didn't, and the reason is what Richard B. Gregg has called "moral jiu-jitsu"—we threw the gang off balance by giving them no excuse to attack us. Despite our fears and our inexperience, we managed to show enough courage to create respect. But behind all the reasons I have cited, undoubtedly God was at work. He was ever in my mind, and I could not help but remember, when the gang halted before us, these words of George Fox: "The mighty power of the Lord was overall."

—Bradford Lyttle

Fourth International Conference Against A- and H-Bombs

In august I attended two meetings the Preparatory Committee of the Fourth ternational Conference Against A- and Bombs, of which Japanese FOR Secre-y Paul Sekiya and Mrs. Nonnomiya were o members. Dr. Yasui and Dr. Okakura re the chief organizers of the conference. ne Japanese movement was started at e time of the Stockholm appeal but re-ained independent of the Communist-ented World Peace Council. During the eparatory sessions, I noticed a serious ort from the leadership to take into ac-unt the advices and propositions made pacifist delegates. The first victory in e preparatory committee was to obtain e assurance that the final declarations of e conference would be submitted to a te, instead of being approved by acclama-n as had happened in the earlier con-rences.

The conference started in a very impres-e fashion. On the first day we had a sion together with the Japanese Con-rence Against A- and H-Bombs. The ace marchers who had walked 1,000 kilo-eters from Hiroshima to Tokyo were eered by 4,000 enthusiastic delegates from over Japan. Very soon it appeared that ree very different groups had met to-ther for the same purpose: the banish-ent of atomic tests.

People of Good Will

The first consisted of Japanese, Indians, Indonesians, etc., from all creeds: Buddhists, Muslims, Christians, etc., gathered to try saving mankind from self destruction.

Some of these people, especially the Christians, had a deep sense of their own responsibility and were ready to confess their own nation's share in the collective guilt. The conference would have made a deep impression on the whole world if the nationals of all countries and all parties had first confessed their mistakes before trying together to prepare a better future.

The Pro-Marxists

But the confession of guilt remained unilateral. A strange unspoken convention seemed to dominate the conference: if an American, Briton, Frenchman or Japanese stood up and said, "My government is wrong," he was applauded. But if somebody hinted that maybe Russia might have a share in the collective guilt, a deadly silence fell upon the assembly, as if one had criticized the Pope in a cathedral. Nobody would answer the criticism, but the critic was left alone under public reprobation with the feeling that he had somehow acted improperly. A girl from East Germany finally told me the truth: "How can you expect me, she said, to

confess the guilt of the proleterians in waging or preparing atomic wars? it is an article of faith among Marxists that capitalism alone with its competitive system is responsible for war. We are many Marxists in this conference; you cannot demand from us a repudiation of our convictions." So, for charity's sake, we had to withdraw a text acknowledging our collective guilt.

There were many Marxists in the conference, not only delegates from Russia and the satellite nations, but also delegates from "international organizations" which apparently had their headquarters in Eastern capitals. Our vigilance at the preparatory committee was not sharp enough to prevent the appointment of these delegates to the responsible posts on the Conference's steering and drafting committees. Once they were in a majority in the leading posts, the conference was due to end the way it did.

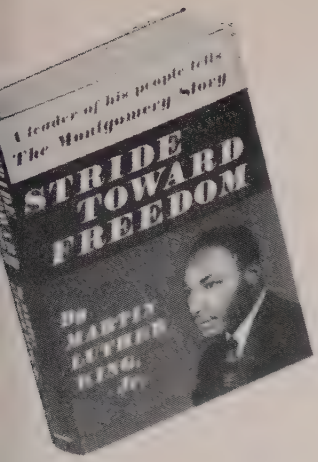
But if we can analyze and be good friends with Communists because their Marxist approach to problems is perfectly logical and honest, the pacifist group attending the Conference very soon became exasperated by the overwhelming weight born upon the conference by World Peace Council delegates, on their way back from Stockholm to Australia and various countries in Asia and South America.

These people, some of them sincere Christians, are opposed, once for all, for some emotional reason, to their own government, to their people's way of life, to the whole West. They do not dare to be Marxists, but if they were, it would clarify their thoughts. They tend to admire devotedly and sentimentally everything which is opposed to the West. The vagueness of their intellectual constructions, the romantic enthusiasm which inspired their speeches rendered a quiet discussion on such burning problems as Communism, capitalism, imperialism, colonization and militarism, quite impossible in a meeting where they were in the majority. Paul Peachy organized twice, together with Robert Vogel of the U.S.A. and myself, the most reasonable and friendly talks with southeastern and Russian delegates; but we were unable to have an open-hearted talk with the fellow-travelers of the World Peace Council. This should be an indication for the future policy of the IFOR: should try to multiply direct contacts w Russians and Chinese and other nation of the satellite countries, but *not* throu the World Peace Council.

The Nationalists

The third group comprised the nati alists, who came in great numbers fr Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Th philosophy was quite simple: "Our nati has been or still is under the colon power of the West. The West is domin ing the world, the West is imperialis the West is preparing an atomic war a the annihilation of mankind." Many these young nationalists were naïve a sincere. An open-hearted contact betwe them and the delegates from Brita France, Holland and the United Stat would have been fruitful. But in the C ference, they were organized as an A Asian region, without any common meeti with Europeans or Americans. It was t setting to see how skilled maneuvere under the cover of a struggle against n clear weapons, would easily sow fear a hatred against the West alone.

This is why, with Robert Vogel, P Sekiya and a group of Japanese, I vot against the final declaration of the C ference. Professor H. Vogel from Ber and Professor Harder from Wuppert both members of the German FOR, h to leave before the end of the Conferen They entirely shared our attitude. Eve thing in the declaration against the ato tests was right and well said. Everythi against colonialism was true. But t propaganda purpose of the declaration w wrong. The Commission's recommen tions about the necessity of a control o the making and stockpiling of A- a H-Bombs were simply suppressed by t drafting committee. This, we felt, was n honest. Political statements on the situati in the Middle East, Algeria and Chi which had not been discussed in the Con ence's plenary session, were introduced the drafting committee. This again w wrong. This is why under a shower of sults from some fellow-travelers (while Marxists tried honestly to amend the te ten delegates and I voted "No" agai the final Declaration. —André Troc



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BOOKS

A Glorious and Fruitful Life

LIFE OF EVELYN UNDERHILL by Margaret Cropper. Harper, 1958. 244 pp., $3.75.

The author of *Flame Touches Flame* took over from Lucy Menzies and completed (after the latter's death) this important biography. For, in the estimate of many, Evelyn Underhill probably made the most original and scholarly contribution in the field of spiritual counseling ("direction" seems to be the normal term in England) of any layman—man or woman—during this half century. She developed to a rare perfection the art of conducting retreats, and was widely known for a quarter of a century as lecturer and book reviewer, as well as the distinguished author of such important books as *Mysticism* and *Worship*—both virtually definitive in their fields.

Her insistence on the "glorious and fruitful creativeness" that arises from the mystical experience, and on the equation of beauty and truth, together with a superb humility before her Maker combined to make hers one of the loveliest spirits of our times. She would seem to have much in common with our own Muriel Lester; despite Evelyn Underhill's late coming to the pacifist position, evidence is lacking, however, of the two having met. An odd index omission is to deCaussade, whose kernel philosophy of "Abandonment to the Will of God"—or "stripping"—had great influence on Evelyn Underhill. St. John of the Cross and The Cloud of Unknowing are among other forces in her theocentric life and thought. Baron von Hügel, who for the few years before his death was her "director" was the other great power for greatness in her own inner—and outer—life.

A frequent traveler on the Continent, a good sailor, a brilliant book binder, gardener, and cat lover, as well as a poet of distinction, this great woman also made time to be a good partner in a most happy marriage—to Hubert Stuart Moore.

Seven years before her coming to the pacifist stand (possibly first stimulated to this by Aldous Huxley), she is delighted by the 1930 Lambeth report calling for condemnation of war by the Christian c science, and comments: "Surely St. Fran congratulated George Fox when the ne of that decision reached the Rose Paradise." Again, "it is the Church's ho and she will not face it, because like t hour of birth it means risk, travail, evitable pain"—this in a pamphlet (19 for the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. "Chr tians . . . must be ready," she wrote late 1940, "to expect the worst that evil cruelty can do to them and vanquish it the power of love."

For the Fellowship of Reconciliation s wrote a Meditation of Peace, which en "O Lamb of God that taketh away the si of the World, Grant us Thy Peace." Th is a tremendous prayer to take upon o lips: the prayer of heroic love. It mea peace bought at a great price; the pea of the Cross, of absolute acceptance, utt abandonment to God, a peace inseparab from sacrifice. The true pacifist is a r deemer, and must accept with joy the r deemer's lot. He, too, is self-offered, wit out conditions, for the peace of the worl

"She was a gateway to God," wrote school principal and one of her freque "retreatants." Scores of the clergy who Evelyn Underhill addressed would be rea to bear witness too to the power and fres ness so devoid of sham of her influen even in their supposedly fully dedicat lives.

—JOHN F. DAVIDS

Historical Sources of Pacifism

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM IN HISTORY by Geoffr F. Nuttall. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 195 ix + 84 pp., $2.50.

Nuttall's *Christian Pacifism in History* valuable for two reasons: first, because shows the continuous pacifist witne throughout the centuries; and second, b cause he undertakes an analysis of typ of pacifism with an eye to the social situ tion in each case. His analysis is penetra ing, stimulating, and provocative.

Some of the characterizations invite d cussion. The chapter on the pacifism of t early church is entitled "The Fear Idolatry." One may remark that to ascri the aversion of the early Christians military service to the fear of idolatry

army is the common Roman Catholic ice for bringing the ethics of the primi- church into line with that of St. omas Aquinas. But if the fear of latry had been the basic reason, why n did not the early Christian communi- excommunicate members in the army? have no evidence that they did. Then course comes another question: if they not, can they be said to be pacifists? clue to the answer is afforded by the ions of Hippolytus which allow that Christian might serve as a soldier pro- ed he did not kill. This proviso appears tastic until one recalls that in the in- ior of the Roman Empire in the period the great peace, the army was engaged police work and one might serve in the ks for a lifetime without being called on to kill. The church did have an in- se objection to the *effusio sanguinis.* is chapter might, I think, have better en titled "Aversion to Bloodshed."

"The Law of Christ" is the rubric for late Medieval pacifists, the Wycliffites l the Bohemian Brethren. This, I think, sound description. They did appeal to Bible against the church, but I think might add to that the theme of the *itatio Christi,* which led some groups, at variance with the church, to take pacifist stand. The section on the Ana- ptists of the sixteenth century is headed he Ministry of Suffering" and the con- tion here is that their pacifism was not rived so much from the Sermon on the ount as from their view of the church as ected of men and therefore necessarily suffering. This picture is correct after Anabaptists were rejected of men, but the outset they envisaged the conversion Christendom. And if the Sermon on the ount played no part in their view, why they reject the oath?

The difference between their pacifism l that of Erasmus is very properly ob- ved. Erasmus was a Catholic and could reject the theory of the just war. His nt was that none of the wars of his e conformed to the formula. He ap- led to rulers to keep the rules. The abaptists had no confidence in rulers for that matter in the masses. True ristians, they held, must be entirely arated from the world.

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The chapter on the Quakers is entitled "The Dignity of Man." In their outlook Nuttall finds a large ingredient of Renaissance Humanism after the manner of Erasmus. I am not so sure that this is the source. The dignity of man in the eyes of the Quakers more nearly resembled the mysticism of the Friends of God in the late Middle Ages. It is true that the Quakers combined the Anabaptist concept of the sect withdrawn in some measure from the world with the Erasmian program of appeal to rulers. The Quakers have always practiced a qualified and limited participation in political life, in contrast to the Mennonites who in this regard have adhered to the old Anabaptist program of withdrawal.

The last section dealing with the modern period is called "The Means of Redemption," which suggests more than a pragmatic pacifism which is based on the assumption that he who turns the other cheek will not be hit. The point here is that pacifism must be one aspect only in a life devoted to the task of redemption.

—Roland H. Bainton

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ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16)

economic nationalism can hardly coexist with disarmament: and an increase in the scope and influence of such international agreements and angencies seems its necessary correlate. True disarmament can be achieved only together with a fair distribution of material resources both within the nations and in the world at large.

Goods cannot be indefinitely multiplied. The rapid consumption of "wasting irreplaceable assets" and the pressure of constantly rising population indicate that scarcity is the cardinal fact of economics. Therefore it is essential that a norm be set, not for ever-rising material standards, but of the "golden means."

The aim must be a life for all, free of degrading indigence, and of no less demoralizing extravagance, a contentment with possessions that are "few but beautiful," and a communal enjoyment of the higher non-material values of art, science and culture. The Christian life requires not the disdain of material things but their sacramental use.

MEMO

TO: FELLOWSHIP READERS
FROM: BILL MILLER

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Who Are Our Neighbors?

r Editors:

awrence Scott ("Potpourri," Sept. 1 FELSHIP) speaks for the "right" of a people nave a universal system of laws, which he s "equity and justice."

arenthetically, I would assert that governnts originate in and are operated by the ng élite, not the people as a whole. But central error is in the concept of equity justice. Equity meaning equality cannot t so long as there are police, lawyers, ges and jailers with power to enforce laws inst the will of the poor and ignorant. e concept of justice is self-contradictory bese it means harmony with spiritual law as l as retribution: all laws contain coercive ctions to repay violations.

cott emphasizes that the government is of people—our neighbors. But, as Jesus nted out, our neighbors include all the ld's people as truly as our national neighs. If it is to be our neighbors' approval ich we seek, then we might consider whether rassment of our government would find or among Russians who believe that we under a brutal capitalist regime. But no would propose such a thing, for it is the ential merit of the attitude or action which uld concern us, not the opinions of the ssian or American people. Whether the ernment is undermined by a right act is mportant. Scott refuses to pay income tax, which I respect him, but at the same time s effectively undermines the government's ver to finance its activities.

Gandhi spoke well on the state when he tioned against giving it loyalty because it he "embodiment of evil." Each individual ides for himself which, if any, laws can be yed without violating his conscience, and se intellectual evaluations make for wide ferences among valid positions.

On the other hand, Scott is certainly right oppose resentment or hatred of governnt. Hatred of government is harmful, not ause the government is fundamentally good, because hatred is fundamentally bad. It akens and distorts the love we want to live and this is so whether the resentment is inst government, government-haters, or the mmon type with which I must struggle when ursue a personal or intellectual argument h as this. Evils and sins are integral parts human beings whom we are trying to love they are.

ARTHUR HARVEY
Fallsington, Pa.

For Re-examination

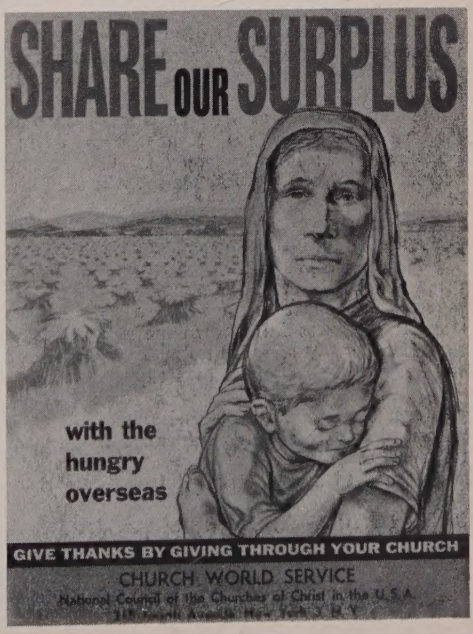
Dear Editors:

I am distressed at your indifference to the message of Martin Luther King Jr. That the chief of police of Montgomery should fail to be influenced by his words is understandable, but that those who are his friends should take his words lightly seems to me deeply distressing.

I would say that the presumption would be very strong that his reasons for not associating himself with pacifist organizations would have been very cogent and worked out with great care. When he offers those reasons with such frankness and honesty, it seems to me your editorial dismisses them all too lightly. It is obvious that you and Dr. King see something quite different when you look at the subject under discussion. Certainly Dr. King is in a better position to be objective, and from whom could we expect clearer truth or warmer love?

Your editorial is a rather feeble effort to explain, it seems to me, that Dr. King just doesn't know what he is talking about. It seems to me a far better attitude would be a careful re-examination of ourselves, asking with great persistence, "What have we done that so good a friend and so fearless a fellow-worker as this should find himself so impressed with us?"

It seems to me rather elemental to assume that, if Dr. King gets this kind of an impression of us, there must be many other less astute observers who might gather the same idea. It seems to me it ought to be a part of our concern, not only that we express ourselves honestly and with humility, but that we communicate with our unenlightened neighbors in such a fashion that they are able to recognize our humility and our love, as well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as our real identification of ourselves with them in the common moral dilemmas.

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Wallingford, Pa.

Ends and Means Under Communism

Dear Editors:

The article in the September 1 FELLOWSHIP, "My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence" by Martin Luther King, Jr., in both thoughtful and thought-provoking.

With most of what he says in his discussion of Marxism and Communism I agree. The suppression of those freedoms which are explicit in our Bill of Rights—to the defense of which I have devoted my career as a lawyer—will prove to be, I believe, a continuing source of weakness rather than strength in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

However, I believe that Dr. King's statement that in communism the end is the state and that man is only a means to the end is contrary to the demonstrable facts.

Both from my reading and from my own observations in the Soviet Union this is not the case. The state, important as it is in the scheme of things, is designed as the means to a better and more self-expressive life for man. Whatever its mistakes and failures, and there are many, one cannot fail to be impressed in the Soviet Union with the emphasis given not only to the training of children, but to th development for happy and creative lives. T attention to education, to the ballet, to opera, the pictorial arts, to recreation a sports and other means of culture and enj ment does not bear out the idea of man c sidered merely as a cog in a machine. Fr the Russians one meets one does not get impression of unhappy robots.

There are many values in our society. Amo the greatest of these is our concept of in vidual freedom. But as one who has fou McCarthyism in the courts and before C gressional inquisitorial committees, I think th we must be most careful as to how we thr stones at others.

Dr. King deplores the fact that in co munism the end justifies the means. But wh more dreadful means has man ever created attain his ends than the weapons of destr tion which we have created and are even n threatening to use?

ROYAL W. FRAN
New York, N. Y.

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of October, 1958.

ALFRED HASSLER, *Edi*

State of New York, County of Rockland

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